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SHEVARDNADZE SPEAKS ON CPSU IDEOLOGY RESOLUTION

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SHEVARDNADZE SPEAKS ON CPSU IDEOLOGY RESOLUTION

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[Text of report delivered by E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, at 26 June Georgian party aktiv meeting: "Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work'"]

[Text] Comrades!

Our aktiv is working against the background of the party's impressive domestic and foreign policy successes. The 25th CPSU Congress decisions are being successfully implemented and the masses' initiative is in full swing toward fulfilling the targets of the 4th year of the 10th 5-Year Plan--the 5-year plan of efficiency and quality--and the current and long-term plans for the country's economic and social development, in the atmosphere of the monolithic cohesion of all working people, all nations and nationalities of the USSR and the entire Soviet people around our party's Leninist Central Committee and the Politburo headed by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The historic meeting in Vienna between L.I. Brezhnev and U.S. President Carter, the documents signed by them and the SALT II treaty are a triumphant new stage in implementing the peace offensive strategy and the program for peace and the peoples' security elaborated by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. This program and strategy are being successfully realized with truly Leninist art by the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, leader of our party and state. The Vienna meeting is further confirmation of this truth.

Permit me, dear comrades, on your behalf and on behalf of all Soviet Georgia's working people, to convey warm thanks and gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally for their Leninist concern for peace and the security of the Soviet people and all the world's peoples, for their important new contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace throughout the world, for the Soviet people's happiness and prosperity and for the further strengthening of the economic potential and defense might of the great Soviet power--the bulwark of peace, democracy and socialism.

Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's speeches, his works "Following Lenin's Course," "On Urgent Problems of Party Building" and "Urgent Questions of the CPSU's Ideological Work," the trilogy of reminiscences "Malaya Zemlya," "Rebirth" and the "Virgin Lands" and other works represent a special contribution to the elaboration of present-day problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and the masses communist education and are a real encyclopedia of practical experience. All this comprises a truly invaluable treasure house from which we party workers derive the knowledge and experience we need to further improve political work among the masses. This treasure house has now been supplemented with one more all-party document of great political importance--the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work." The CPSU Central Committee resolution is based on the extensive and thorough analysis of the state of the party's ideological activities which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev made at the CPSU Central Committee November (1938) plenum.

At today's aktiv meeting we are examining our tasks in the light of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work."

What is the essence and significance of this resolution? Why was it adopted right now, at this stage? What objective and subjective causes contributed to this phenomenon?

It should be said that the document is the consequence of a number of internal and external factors. It is necessary to speak first of all of internal factors as the main, determining factors.

First, not only historically but also at the state of mature, developed socialism, our country and society have accumulated great practical experience of ideological work, and in this connection the need has emerged for a truly Marxist-Leninist analysis and generalization of all our ideological and political education activity, which has also entered a qualitatively new stage of development. This is understandable, since in the age of mature, developed socialism ideological work cannot be organized in the same way as it was conducted at the early stages of socialism.

Second, the accelerated development of the national economy, the creation of a unified national economic complex, the practical building of communism's material-technical base, the gradual development of socialist into communist social relations, the education of the new person, the builder of the future--all these processes at the new stage demand corresponding ideological backup at a new level. The CPSU Central Committee resolution gives answers to all these questions.

Third, account should be taken of the fact that the working people's general educational and cultural level has risen considerably, so that ideological work cannot be carried out with them today in the old way, and the style, forms and methods of agitation and propaganda and all ideological and political education work must be improved and its scientific bases strengthened.

Fourth, congress decisions, particularly those of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses held in the age of mature, developed socialism, CPSU Central Committee and Politburo resolutions, other party and state documents, the works of L.I. Brezhnev and other party leaders, the researches of scientists and social scientists--in a word, the collective intelligence of our whole party applied to the new specific historical conditions--developed Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it with new tenets and conclusions. This fact demands the corresponding development of the content, style, means, forms and methods of agitation and propaganda and political education work, the enhancement of their effectiveness and intellectual and emotional content, and the strengthening of their organizing and mobilizing role.

Turning to external factors, the following must be said: First, the resolution being discussed at our aktiv meeting today was adopted under conditions of the further intensification of the struggle of ideas in the international arena. As practice shows, even with international detente the struggle of ideas not only continues but even intensifies. The activation of bourgeois propaganda is evidenced by the accent on so-called "human rights" and "dissidence," by the doomed gamble on some religious revival, and so forth.

We must counter the activation of bourgeois propaganda with the attacking enthusiasm of our ideological work.

Second, Chinese, Maoist propaganda, and the great-Han, great-power chauvinism of the Chinese leadership on the one hand and reformist, opportunist elements in the world workers movement on the other have created the need for a qualitative improvement in our ideological, theoretical, political education and information work. It has become a very urgent task of the present day to uphold the purity of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The CPSU Central Committee resolution contains a scientifically substantiated program in this direction.

These are some of the main reasons and preconditions for the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee decision on ideological work, on which our aktiv meeting is concentrating its attention.

If we speak of the Central Committee resolution as a whole, it must be emphasized that it is a party document of the age of mature, developed socialism, the age of the transition from socialism to communism, making a Leninist-style thorough, comprehensive, dialectical analysis of the modern practice of ideological and political education work, defining urgent tasks on the ideological front and organizing and mobilizing the masses, our ideological workers and the whole party to fulfill unconditionally the 25th CPSU Congress decisions.

We communists of Georgia are particularly pleased to point out that, comparing the substance of the CPSU Central Committee resolution with the practice of ideological work in our republic since the adoption of the well-known decision on Tbilisi Gorkom, it can be stated that all these years we have been following the correct, party Leninist course. The Central Committee resolution under discussion serves us as a good guideline and criterion in this matter.

However, this certainly does not mean that we have had only successes on the ideological front and that there have been neither shortcomings nor omissions. Everything positive and negative in the party's ideological work noted in the Central Committee resolution has a direct bearing on the Georgian party organization's work practices.

Ideological work in our republic at the present stage has its own special features and peculiarities stemming from the specific historical situation that has taken shape in the process of the Georgian party organization's struggle to implement the decision on Tbilisi Gorkom and the subsequent well-known resolutions on the Georgian Republic. This has to be said, since it affects both the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on ideological work at this aktiv meeting and our elaboration and implementation of a concrete action program. The republic's party aktiv must be told bluntly that, but for the great, painstaking work done by the Georgia CP to implement the well-known decisions on the Georgian party organization, today we would not be ready either morally, politically or in other aspects to implement the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decision on ideological questions.

At the present stage the tasks consists in seeing that the Georgian CP's ideological work corresponds to the greatness, the intellectual potential, the unlimited practical possibilities, dynamism and scale of the age of mature, developed socialism, and not only corresponds to them but outstrips them.

The activities of the Georgian Academy of Sciences and the Georgian State Committee for Science and Technology have become more effective. The Party History Institute under the Georgian CP Central Committee--a branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU Central Committee--the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Institutes of Philosophy, Economy and Law, and Psychology, the Institute of Economics and National Economic Planning under the Georgian Gosplan, and many other scientific centers in the republic have considerably improved their work.

We had, above all, to bring economic policy fully in line with the demands of the objective laws of socialism and with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee.

This task is being resolved well in the republic.

How have we managed to achieve a tangible breakthrough in the sphere of ideology in the spirit of the decision on Tbilisi Gorkom?

Success has been achieved, first, through the republic party organization's loyalty to the Leninist principles of ideological work: party-mindedness, class nature, scientific character, indissoluble connection with life, veracity, clarity and accessibility.

Second, through measures implemented in the main directions of ideology, theory has really begun illuminating the path of the practice of communist building.

Third, there has been a considerable improvement in the masses' ideological and political education and in the Marxist-Leninist education of communists in basic political classes, schools of Marxism-Leninism, party aktiv schools and theoretical seminars and an improvement in independent reading.

Fourth, more attention has begun to be devoted to problems of political training in the republic's educational institutions--schools, vocation and technical colleges and VUZes.

Fifth, there has been an increase in the effectiveness of the forms and methods of ideologically influencing the masses and the practice of their use in ideological work, including the practice of employing forms and mass agitation work such as political talks, political information, schools of communist labor, people's universities, lecture propaganda, political reports and so forth.

There has been appreciable revitalization in all spheres of ideological work.

At the same time ideology must not be reduced just to political enlightenment or to newspapers, magazines, books, publishing, theaters and so forth. There is no sphere in our society where ideology does not manifest itself.

A modern factory or plant is not just machine tools and not just output, and a modern kolkhoz, sovkhov or agrarian-industrial association is not just farms and plantations but, above all, people, the organization of production itself, the combination of the means of production with the production forces. And this is done on the basis of our ideology. This is why we say that any violation or deviation in activities or work organization in a plant, factory, kolkhoz, sovkhov, scientific establishment, design bureau and so forth is not only an organization matter but also a political and, consequently, ideological matter.

Our ideological and political education work is conducted with regard for the fact that in the economic sphere developed socialism differs in many ways from the early stages despite having the same production relations and identical economic laws operating in society. The scale of the production forces has increased many times over. This is the first point. Second, at the stage of mature socialism the task of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is being resolved in practice. Third, extensive methods of operating the economy are receding into the background, and intensive methods are primarily being introduced into production. Fourth, on the basis of raising the efficiency and quality of social production the whole economy of the age of mature, developed socialism makes it possible to satisfy more fully the ever-increasing needs of every member of society, to enhance their material and cultural well-being and to insure the comprehensive, harmonious development of all members of society. The mature stage of socialism is the stage of the direct building of the material-technical base of communism.

I.

One of the chief sectors of our work is effective ideological provision for the unconditional fulfillment of the party's directive instructions in the sphere of economic development and, as a whole, the building of communism's material-technical base under the conditions of our republic.

The Leninist principle of the unity of economic and political work lies at the basis of ideological provision for the building of communism's material-technical base.

The building of communism's material-technical base is insured ideologically in the republic not only by ideological education and propaganda means but primarily through the daily, painstaking work of party, soviet, public and economic organizations, the trade unions and the Komsomol in fulfilling our current and long-term plans and socialist pledges.

We can observe almost everywhere a more skilled approach to economic problems, a higher level of competence in resolving them and, as a consequence, stable positive national economic development indicators, for which the republic has been awarded six times in succession a CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCOTU and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banner. The achievement of these successes is also greatly to the credit of ideological workers.

The dynamic and balanced development of all sectors of the national economy and the rise in social production efficiency in recent years have made it possible not only to fulfill but also to substantially overfulfill the targets for the first 3 years of the 10th 5-Year Plan for the main indicators of economic and social growth. This is the most important result of the stage traveled in the 10th 5-Year Plan.

The past period was characterized by a considerable increase in production volumes and growth rates, by a further appreciable reduction in the lag behind the average union level for a number of the main economic development indicators and by the strengthening of qualitative growth factors; that is, the results toward which the masses had been pointed by all our political, propaganda and ideological work were achieved.

Here are some of the most characteristic features illustrating the growth of the Georgian SSR economy over the past 3 years. The republic's per capita gross social product increased 17.9 percent against a 5-year plan target of 13 percent, and the increase in 4 years is to be 23.4 percent against 18.5 percent under the 5-year plan.

Per capita national income increased 20.0 percent against a 5-year plan target of 12.4 percent, while under this year's plan it is to increase to 26.6 percent against a target of 17.8 percent. Similar correlations are also taking shape in the dynamics of national income utilization. The most important indicator of social production efficiency--social labor productivity--increased 18.0 percent over the past 3 years and will increase 30.1 percent under the plan for the first 4 years, which is respectively 4.5 and 6.7 percent higher than the 5-year plan targets.

The rate of increase for the above-named economic development indicators is appreciably in excess of analogous average union parameters. One of the chief strategic tasks set the Georgian party organization by the CPSU Central Committee is thereby being resolved successfully: over the first 3 years of the 5-year plan the discrepancy with the union average per capita national income was reduced by 4.9 points. The pace and scale achieved would be impossible without the development of the republic's economic potential.

The growth in the Georgian SSR's economic might is evidenced most graphically by the following figures: During 1974-1978 the most important generalizing parameters of economic and social development--global social product and national income--increased by 20.3 and 22.3 percent respectively compared with 1975--the base year of the 5-year plan; and under the 1979 plan the increases will total 27.5 and 30.9 percent. This is considerably higher than the 5-year plan control figures.

The absolute increase in global social product over the 3 years exceeded the analogous indicator for the corresponding period in the Ninth 5-Year Plan by 150 percent, other figures being 180 percent for national income, 20 percent for fixed production capital, 120 percent for the number of people employed in the national economy and 130 percent for gross industrial output.

It is gratifying that this is the result, above all, of the correct use of socialism's laws of political economy and the tenets of concrete economics by party, state, economic and planning organs and the result of improved ideological work.

A fundamental change for the better is apparent in the dynamics of the most important qualitative indicators of management efficiency--labor productivity and product quality. In terms of the labor productivity growth rate--the chief measure of efficiency--last year Georgia attained the foremost positions in the country, and we are maintaining the levels reached this year.

During the first 3 years of the 10th 5-Year Plan the number of our products with the seal of quality increased more than 530 percent, while production of these products increased 600 percent and their proportion of the total production volume rose 9.5 points.

Thanks to the organizational, economic, social, ideological and political education measures taken by the republic party organization, the lag in agriculture has been considerably overcome. According to scientific forecasts, the increase in agricultural production in the 10th 5-Year Plan will total 30-33 percent compared with the 9th 5-Year Plan. This will be one of the best indicators in the country.

Capital construction is being carried out on a large scale, and new enterprises and capacities have been commissioned in all spheres of material production and the nonproduction sphere--which has helped further enhance the republic's economic potential. The volume of capital investments assimilated during the 3 years was 29 percent higher than the 1971-1973 indicator, and the value of the fixed capital commissioned was 38 percent higher.

All this indicates that ideological work, together with other measures, among construction workers, engineers, technicians, planners and so forth is being conducted in a differentiated, skilled and effective manner.

The policy of enhancing the people's well-being is being implemented consistently in the republic on the basis of the growing scale and efficiency of social production. During the first 3 years of the 5-year plan real per capita income increased 13.8 percent against the 5-year plan target of 12.2 percent. The average wages of workers and employees in the national economy increased 12.8 percent, while the pay of kolkhoz members increased 33 percent.

All this is in accordance with the demands of the fundamental law of socialism and the other laws of our society's economic and social development and with the spirit of our ideology. These facts and figures are the material expression of our party organization's ideological success.

As you see, comrades, our successes are very considerable. [paragraph continues]

However, they must not overshadow the shortcomings that still exist in many sectors of economic building or the still unresolved problems of our economy's further development. Of course, shortcomings and a certain weakness of ideological work in this direction account for this.

For, despite the very different nature of these shortcomings, they have a common basic cause. This is that certain ministries and departments, associations and enterprises do not implement purposefully and consistently enough the policy of raising production efficiency and utilizing intensive factors of economic development, that is, they do not act in the spirit of the requirements of the laws of socialism. Therefore, as the CPSU Central Committee November (1978) resolution plenum emphasizes, the most important task of ministries, departments, party, soviet and public organizations and labor collectives is to further intensify the struggle to raise social production efficiency and work quality. And those who are called upon to propagandize party policy and its aims and tasks have far from the smallest say in this struggle.

Of particular value under the conditions of developed socialism is V.I. Lenin's instruction that "all propaganda must be built on the political experience of economic building" (Vol 31 p 407), and therefore we are obliged to use all the forces of ideological influence to direct the masses toward resolving the urgent tasks of the day, to awaken their activeness and initiative, to coordinate all educational work resolutely with practice and to develop the offensive nature of propaganda, agitation and all ideological work.

Account should be taken of the fact, comrades, that party and economic workers consciously participate in the process of creating the material-technical base. But there are still those who act out of inertia, who simply fulfill the plans and pledges because they must be fulfilled, without being conscious of the ideological and theoretical aspects of labor dialectics or the nuances of the operating mechanism of the objective laws of socialism at its mature stage.

Let us cite this example. The economy of mature developed socialism of the Georgian SSR is in fact an inalienable constituent part of the USSR's unified national economic complex. You know that the efficiency of this unified national economic complex is assessed, above all, by its global social product and national income, which we discussed earlier.

Global social product and national income, as is known, are produced on the basis of the laws of socialism's political economy, and socialism's political economy is a constituent part of Marxism-Leninism. This means that everything takes place in production here in accordance with the demands of our ideology.

Party, soviet and economic organs must take into account that what is needed, as the saying goes, is a golden measure of combination, a golden measure of observance of the right balance between accumulation and consumption funds. If an unauthorized reduction in the national accumulation fund income leads, as happened in the republic in the recent past, to the undermining of economic development prospects, an indefensible reduction in the consumption fund--the kind of relapse which has indeed occurred in the republic's practice--can lead to a decline in the working masses' interest in developing production, and this is fraught with great dangers.

What is needed is an optimum, scientifically substantiated combination of consumption and accumulation funds. The correct solution of this question is one important aspect of ideological support for the solution of economic tasks.

The separation of national income into two parts would seem to be a purely technical question and a matter for our Gosplan, but in reality it is a political question, an ideological question. This is how our ideology, our politics, our economics, theory and practice are synthesized in every element of our life.

When a theoretician tells us that possibilities have emerged under the conditions of developed socialism for the more harmonious combination of this expenditure--possibilities for accelerating consumption growth by insuring the necessary accumulation by shifting the center of gravity from extensive to intensive economic factors and by raising social production efficiency--the working people must see for themselves in practice the results of this theoretical conclusion, and in the final analysis this depends on you and me, on gorkom and raykom secretaries, on ministers and department leaders, on economic planners, on our party aktiv, propagandists, agitators and lecturers.

When an economic planner introduces intensive factors of economic development, this means that not only an economic problem is being resolved.

At the same time he is resolving the very important ideological task of educating our contemporary in the best models of communist management of the economy. Every party, economic and ideological worker must realize that concepts such as, for example, labor productivity, profitability, capital-output ratio, prime cost, monetary targets and so forth have not only an economic aspect but also political and ideological aspects. It is very important to understand this. Otherwise we will have neither scientifically substantiated propaganda and agitation nor scientifically organized production. This is how our economic work and ideology intermingle at every step.

We often say that man stands at the center of our ideology and our policy. Our economy and culture are created in man's name. And this is right. At the same time there arises the problem of man and society, the problem of combining the interests of the whole national economic complex, the enterprise and the labor collective with the interests of the individual worker, our contemporary. Material and moral incentives, the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, are our everyday practices in the gorkom and raykom, in the primary party organization, in the plant and on the farm, in the political circle and political school.

Solving these problems means at the same time solving many ideological problems and questions which arise in our society. I am against asserting the omnipotence of the ruble, but without the ruble, without the correct combination of material and moral incentives we cannot correctly resolve the interests of the individual and the collective, the interests of the whole national economy and the individual worker. In this respect our Abasha comrades, for example, have accumulated good experience. However, this is such a complex question that it cannot be solved once and for all. This question must be resolved dynamically, day by day, month by month, year by year. Its specificity stems from the dynamic nature of our economy.

The correct ideological interpretation of the solution of economic problems is one of the urgent tasks for our agitation and propaganda and all our ideology.

Socialist competition is an important means dialectically uniting the practical and educational aspects of labor activities. As L.I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "what is important to us is both the concrete economic results of labor competition and the great educational potential enshrined in it."

Indeed, let us recall what a tremendous mobilizing and educational role has been played by the following initiatives emerging during the socialist competition: The Rustavi metallurgists' "Not one laggard or violator of discipline here," and the Tbilisi Pervomayskiy Rayon and Kutaisi Working People's "Work without laggard enterprises." In addition to the very impressive saving, these initiatives help to foster in people a communist attitude to work, civic responsibility for the common cause and an active life stance. And in organizing the socialist competition our party committees must devote special attention precisely to its educational, moral aspects--still something, unfortunately, that far from all of them do.

Addressing the 17th Komsomol Congress, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said: "One of the most important features of our motherland's present day is the struggle for efficiency and quality. This is not a temporary campaign. It is party policy adopted in earnest and for the long term, as the saying goes. It is not only the key task of current policy but also the determining factor of our economic and social development for many years to come."

The problem of controlling product quality and the struggle to improve all quality indicators is one of today's burning problems. It is not only an economic but also an ideological problem. The dialectics of the development of the movement for product quality control in the country as a whole, including our republic, is for instance the best example of the way in which people's masses develop theory and impart an organized nature to ideological work itself and to ideological support for the resolutions of economic questions.

At the first stage special attention was devoted in the country to production and technical questions when resolving product quality control. Let us recall the Saratov system of defect-free product manufacture. The next stage was the Gorkiy system--quality, dependability and durability first time. At the third stage Yaroslavl and Kremenchug had their say; this system was further improved in Moscow enterprises. Then the people of Lvov made all stages in the product cycle the object of quality control--planning, manufacture, sale, operation. But they tried, in addition, to resolve the problem comprehensively, with regard to the economic, managerial, sociopsychological and moral factors of labor activity. The problem of quality control thereby assumed a truly comprehensive nature. The mass movement for comprehensive product quality control also passed through all these stages in our republic.

We reached the conclusion that the comprehensive resolution of quality control is possible only through the joint efforts of party, state and public organizations, involving representatives of not only the technical but also the social sciences. And so, it would seem, such practical matters as socialist competition and working people's initiative and enterprise transcended the limits of management and production organization and developed into a major ideological and, if you like theoretical and practical problem. Philosophers, social scientists and specialists in social psychology, engineering psychology, industrial aesthetics and so forth joined in this matter. All this is achieved in the process of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

But what is work quality? The criterion for this is the result of our work: The product of work, its quality. From planning and design to production of the finished product--all links and all stages must be equal to modern requirements.

The struggle for better quality indicators and the enhancement of product quality are perhaps not only and not so much technical problems as psychological and ideological problems demanding that inertia be overcome and new moral work criteria formulated and asserted.

We must proceed from the premise that science's contribution, the technical standard of production, all work activities, the quality of work of the labor collective itself and the whole dialectics of work are focused and concentrated in quality as a whole.

Comrades!

Working people's modern leaders and ideological mentors need to have broad and profound theoretical knowledge of the objective laws of socialism and of the specific features which these laws acquire in the age of mature, developed socialism and need to use them to maximum effect in their daily practical activities.

Party workers and ideological workers armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, knowing the method of operation and mastering the mechanism for using the laws of social development in the age of mature, developed socialism, not only organize current work scientifically but foresee scientifically the results of work--which is very valuable--while those workers, party committee secretaries, propagandists and agitators and economic leaders who have inadequate knowledge of the basics of Marxism-Leninism are devoid of these qualities.

On talking with the aktiv you discover that many of our comrades commit unpardonable mistakes in the belief that, since the laws of economic or social development under socialism are of an objective nature, there is no need to study these laws thoroughly since they simply operate outside our will. This is a totally wrong idea. We must master the mechanism of making effective use of the laws and know how to translate the essence and demands of these laws into the language of raykom, gorkom, obkom and Central Committee bureau resolutions. That is our task!

The point is that under the conditions of mature socialism, given the objective nature and objective essence of the laws of economic development, the significance of subjective factors increases still further. It is precisely subjective factors that constitute the most important reserve for growth in our society's material and spiritual values.

Our cadres--ideological and economic workers, party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers--must master the mechanism of making conscientious use of these laws, and then the result will, of course, be quite different and more effective.

But here another aspect of the matter arises.

The social inertia and social passivity of even competent people sometimes leads to a passive attitude toward the use of these laws. Knowledge alone is not enough. It is necessary to take an active civic, party-minded stand on the basis of this knowledge. The skillful use of theory accelerates the transformation of potential into reality.

The creation in our republic of financially autonomous associations, agricultural associations, agrarian-industrial-trade complexes and a new system of state purchases and procurements, for example, is quite rightly considered by many comrades, including scientists, an example of the active use of the laws of social development in practical economic activities. Yes, this is so in a certain sense. But, of course, this far from exhausts the complex mechanism of the active use of laws. This sphere of activity is practically inexhaustible.

Our ideological aim is to go further, to get to know the laws in greater depth and to apply them conscientiously in economic and cultural building.

But even this is not enough.

We say that we must further develop Marxist-Leninist theory. [paragraph continues]

This means, above all, that we must study the operation of a particular law under the new specific conditions of the age of mature, developed socialism. The fact that the most important laws of social development are known, that we are consciously guided by them and that they serve our interests still does not mean that all aspects of the operation of these laws have been studied once and for all. Further knowledge of the mechanism and operating method of these laws in our society, under the condition of mature, developed socialism, gives us the practical possibility of more scientific planning, more scientific forecasting and compiling of optimum long-term plans, more scientific production organization and scientifically substantiated distribution of the global social product, scientifically substantiated planning of national income, and so forth.

The Central Committee bureaus, obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, the Council of Ministers, ministries and departments must utilize these and other factors still more effectively so as to make the objective laws of economic and social development in the age of mature, developed socialism work for us to maximum effect. This is how we understand ideological support for economic development.

Without knowledge of the laws of mature, developed socialism it is impossible to evaluate the situation correctly, to master the situation or to pose and determine the tasks stemming from the situation.

There is no denying that many of our comrades, including ideological cadres, are not always fully aware theoretically of the whole profundity of the laws of social development or cannot combine this knowledge with the practical tasks. In such cases they are merely practical workers.

The practical activities of such leaders can run counter to the demands of the laws of socialism's social development. And this very often gives rise to imbalances, deviations and anomalies in the economic and cultural development of individual rayons and entire economic regions, as occurred in the work of the Georgian party organization in the recent past. It was precisely ignorance of these laws or reluctance to submit to these laws' method and mechanism of operation that caused the slight deviations which did occur in the republic through underestimation of the principle of moral incentive and material interest, the principles of financial autonomy, and so forth.

Speaking of the specific nature of the operation of the laws of social development in the age of mature, developed socialism, Georgia's party organizations must take account of the fact that under the conditions of developed socialism all questions are resolved comprehensively, with regard for the economic, social, psychological and moral aspects.

It is our task to insure the vigorous practical activities of all our party organizations and soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations with a view to making the maximum use of these laws in the interest of society.

In summing up some of the results of the work done on the ideological support of the creation of communism's material-technical base it should be pointed out that we have in our republic both positive experience and unresolved problems in this very important direction.

Everyone present in this hall today, everyone listening to the voice of this ideological forum must realize that the whole network of party and Komsomol studies, the system of the working people's economic education, all political education work and the whole Agitprop system must work still more effectively to support ideologically the solution of urgent problems of economic building in our republic and the creation of communism's material-technical base in our country.

Complex tasks face us.

We need further qualitative improvement in the ideological support, first, of the 10th 5-Year Plan targets. And this is no simple matter if you take into account the fact that the plans for the last years of the 5-year plan are very intensive.

Second, we need a fundamental improvement in ideological provision for the process of surmounting the slight discrepancy between the republic and the all-union indicators. As is known, it is planned to overcome the discrepancy mainly in the 11th 5-Year Plan and once and for all in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Third, our ideological work must be aimed at insuring the unconditional implementation of our long-term plans designed for the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans, for the foreseeable future, through 1990 and through the end of the century.

This depends on you and me, comrades. We must fulfill with honor this mission of trust and responsibility.

II

The second main direction in the political work of the republic Communist Party is ideological provision for the further development of socialist social relations, which are gradually developing into communist relations.

In the sociopolitical sphere, as we know, mature developed socialism is characterized, first, by growing rapprochement among all social groups and classes--the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia. They are drawing substantially closer, and the lines between them are gradually being erased.

Second, there is the process of the masses' increasingly monolithic cohesion around the vanguard of society, the chief production forces of our state, the leading force of society--the working class--and around the Communist Party.

Third, the state of the dictatorship of the working class has evolved into a socialist state of the whole people, a new historical community of people--the Soviet people--has arisen, and the CPSU, party of the working class, has become the party of the whole people.

The profound economic, social and political changes occurring in the process of building socialism have created favorable conditions for further broadening and deepening our society's democratic foundations. Precisely this has become the chief, determining trend in the country's political life. But it is not a spontaneous process. It is controllable. The real democracy of real socialism can develop only under conditions of high social organization and strong socialist discipline. It is precisely a high degree of organization, conscious discipline and increased responsibility that guarantee the reality of the increasingly broad rights and democratic freedoms of the Soviet Union's citizens.

These and a number of other factors demand the fundamental restructuring of ideological work with regard to the new problems and conditions which have emerged at the mature stage of socialism.

The correct combination of the interests of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities occupies a special place in the solution of sociopolitical questions. This has its own special features in the age of mature, developed socialism. It is true that the chief trend in the development of our state and society is the trend toward society's social homogeneity, the effacing of class differences and the essential differences between the city and the countryside and between mental and physical labor, the trend toward the comprehensive development and rapprochement of the USSR's nations and nationalities. But at the same time each nation, each class and each nationality has its own specific interests. [paragraph continues]

Both maximum consideration and maximum satisfaction of these and other interests are the task of correctly organized policy and correctly organized ideological work.

Thus, for example, the CPSU Central Committee decisions on the Tbilisi Gorkom, concerning the further development of the Georgian SSR national economy, and concerning the Georgian party organization's work in implementing the decisions on the Tbilisi Gorkom, the resolutions on the Abkhazskaya ASSR and a number of other documents, and also the CPSU Central Committee draft resolution--currently under preparation--on the further development of Georgia's agriculture speak of the fact that the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev are setting up a classic example of how the interests of the entire state and also the specific interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia and of the nations and nationalities inhabiting our republic should be correctly taken into consideration. Economic, political and ideological tasks are thereby resolved simultaneously. All this is ideology in action.

When exercising leadership of ideological work, we must take into account that the mature, developed stage of socialism is distinguished by a certain specific quality and distinctiveness in the sphere of social and spiritual life. This lies above all in the fact that revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is the ideology of the working class, has become the world outlook of the whole people. However, the process of shaping a communist world outlook is a continuous one. New people and new generations enter upon life. Arming all of them--all of them without exception--with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is a supremely difficult and supremely important task. As practice shows, not every party committee is coping with the implementation of ideological work taking account of this law-governed pattern of our society. Good experience has been accumulated in this respect by the Tbilisi, Kutaisi and Rustavi gorkoms and by certain other party committees. But this is not enough. Second, the levels of education, cultural development and the spiritual-value orientation of all social groups and classes and of all nations and nationalities have drawn considerably closer to each other. The intensiveness of the rapprochement process depends to a large extent on the work of Georgia's party organizations. This is a perfectly controllable process. Further consolidation and internationalization are underway. All peoples and nations, all social groups and classes are united and spiritually ennobled by nationwide pride in their socialist motherland. Precisely this feeling has enriched the Georgians, Russians, Ossets, Abkhazians, Greeks and all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the republic. The members of society are being educated in a spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

In the process of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism the very high cultural standard of the people emerges. And not only do the differences in the economic and cultural spheres between the city and countryside and between mental and physical labor gradually disappear, but a unified socialist way of life also develops and a unified socialist awareness becomes firmly established.

Take, for instance, the way of life of many of our villages--Natanebi in Makharadzevskiy Rayon, Rukhi in Zugdidskiy Rayon, Okumi and Galskiy Rayon and other villages in various rayons of the republic. Now these are classic examples of the gradual surmounting of the considerable differences between the city and countryside. How many such examples can be cited from the life of villages in the epoch of mature socialism! The main thing is that this is a general phenomenon--in each modern village of the republic one can feel this progress, which in practice is taking place unevenly but nevertheless on an all-embracing scale. As in any matter, front-runners and laggards are making their presence felt in this too.

The task is to intensify the role of ideological work in accelerating the process of surmounting the substantial differences between the city and countryside. [paragraph continues]

This is a perfectly practicable task. There are still serious shortcomings in this sphere. Above all a comprehensive approach and adequate theoretical comprehension of the practical activity of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, primary party organizations and soviet and economic organizations in this direction are lacking.

The party organizations, the central committees, the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must take into consideration in ideological work the need for a differentiated approach to social groups and classes.

It is essential to intensify ideological work in the sphere of overcoming the substantial differences between mental and physical work too.

The labor of a Tbilisi aircraft construction workers, a Rustavi steel smelter, a Kutaisi motor-vehicle builder or a Teleti livestock worker who takes advantage of the achievements of telemechanics is drawing close to mental labor and acquiring traits of the work of a technician, engineer, designer, inventor and so forth.

Before our very eyes agricultural labor is being transformed into a version of industrial labor in terms of the level of mechanization, power availability and so forth. The machine operator is becoming the chief figure in the countryside. The substantial differences between physical and mental labor are being effected.

All this is a straightforward practical manifestation of the very great economic, theoretical and ideological problems of a mature socialist society.

Our current and long-term comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of the cities, villages and regions which are compiled by our planning committee must provide, on the basis of accelerated production growth, for the solution of these very important problems to a high theoretical, ideological and practical standard.

The main point is that party committees and soviet economic and public organizations should perceive here that, when they are compiling and implementing such plans they are tackling the problems of mature socialism--the problems of surmounting the substantial difference between the city and countryside and between physical and mental labor, taking account of the dialectic of the development of socialist into communist social relations. It is in this art and science that each of the republic's party organizations must be trained. Here lies one of the cardinal theoretical, methodological and practical problems of modern ideological work.

The firm establishment of our Soviet way of life has become a reality. The Soviet way of life creates a healthy psychological climate which makes us strong and steadfast, it creates an atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship and of daily strengthening cohesiveness and friendship among all nations and nationalities, it ennobles them morally.

It is essential to mount more energetically, in all cities and villages of the republic, a movement for villages and cities with high and mature socialist culture, for exemplary public order and for the firm establishment of a genuinely socialist way of life.

Every labor collective in the republic's plants, factories, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and educational and scientific establishments must firmly establish a socialist way of life. That is our task. All our ideological work ought to be aimed at solving this task.

Comrades! We have always stressed that the only legitimate mouthpiece of the interests of all nations and nationalities and all social strata was and still remains the Communist Party.

Georgia has never known such a degree of development in the economy and culture and in the material and spiritual life of the Georgian people as has been achieved in the epoch of mature and developed socialism.

When implementing the Leninist principles of the working people's internationalist education we must bear in mind that the realization of the most cherished national interests of the Georgian people has taken and is taking place under conditions of the internationalist fraternity of the peoples of the land of soviets. Such is the dialectic of national and the internationalist factors.

The internationalist education of the working people is achieved on the basis of the further flourishing of the national economy and culture of each people and each nation of the land of soviets.

This is a natural law of our life.

The Georgian people assess all their achievements in the sphere of the economy and culture and in the sphere of social life as the results of the great creative and vivifying strength of internationalism. Only with the fraternal, disinterested assistance of the great Russian people, with the help of all the peoples of the USSR and under conditions of internationalism, with the Leninist friendship of the peoples and the complete triumph of the principles of mutual trust and respect among peoples could the miracle have been wrought: our people have achieved the kind of successes in the economy and culture about which its most outstanding figures, its best sons and daughters could not even have dreamed.

Georgia is a multinational republic. And the achievements of the Georgian people, of the Georgian Republic have to be assessed as the result of the joint struggle and labor of all the peoples inhabiting Georgia. These are Russian and Abkhazians, Ossets and Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Kurds, Jews and Greeks and so on.

But this is not a one-sided process.

All the peoples of Soviet Georgia have achieved tremendous successes in their sociocultural development, and the labor of the Georgian worker, kolkhoz member and member of the intelligentsia is crystallized in these successes. This is our wealth.

Consider our autonomous formations: the Abkhazskaya ASSR, the Adzharskaya ASSR and the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast.

Suffice it to say that the volume of industrial output compared with the prewar year of 1940 had increased more than 10-fold in 1977 in the Abkhazskaya ASSR, almost 5-fold in the Adzharskaya ASSR and nearly 50-fold in the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast. How poor our spiritual life would be had not we Georgians, Abkhazians, Ossets, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kurds and other nations and nationalities inhabiting our republic been united and knit together into a united, harmonious, monolithic family of peoples by the Leninist friendship of the peoples and by the great principles of socialist internationalism. We rejoice at the success of each people in their economic and cultural development. This is a norm of our socialist life.

Over the last 6 years alone--since the time of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi Gorkom--more than 50 party and government decisions have been adopted in the interests of the development and flourishing of the economy, culture, public education and health care of the republic's autonomous formations and of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the Georgian SSR. Even a simple list of these would take up a great deal of time and therefore I shall cite only a few of them in chronological order.

In 1973 we examined and outlined measures for the development of the resort zone in Abkhazia, on the Sukhumi Teaching Institute, for the further development of Abkhazia's national economy, for the implementation of tasks for the communist education of the working people by the Adzharskiy Obkom, on a number of economic issues of the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast and concerning the internationalist education of the Yuzhnaya osetia section of the writers' union.

In 1974 we returned on three occasions to the complex of questions regarding the boosting of the economy and culture of Yuzhnaya Osetia; twice to the questions of resort building in the Abkhazskaya ASSR and twice to other questions of Abkhazia's economy; economic problems in Adzharia were also examined.

In 1975 questions of the development of the national economy, resort construction and the provision of amenities in Abkhazia featured six times on the agenda of the Central Committee Bureau's sessions. In the course of the year the Central Committee repeatedly passed judgment on problems of the Yugo-Osetinskaya Oblast and Adzharia.

In this direction 1976 was devoted to verifying the implementation of resolutions and 1977 was given over to questions of the socioeconomic development of resort regions and also mountainous areas and regions difficult of access in the autonomous areas; and, finally, last year provided the opportunity to move on from local decisions to problems generalizing prospects for the development of national regions in aggregate. These decisions took the form of resolutions which are well known to you--what I would call the historic decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, of the Georgian CP Central Committee and Georgian Council of Ministers on the further development of the economy and culture of the Abkhazskaya ASSR, the decision on the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast and also special decisions on sectors in the sphere of science, culture, publishing work, health care and education. A resolution on the comprehensive development of the mountainous Adzharia region was adopted.

And these decisions--I tell you this in all frankness--have not remained on paper. They are being purposefully implemented and constantly monitored by the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau.

In our republic newspapers and books are published in Russian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Abkhazian and Osset as well as in Georgian, our radio transmits programs in seven languages of the USSR peoples' teaching is performed in Georgia in many languages and multinational creative collectives work here. We take all this for granted, and what is surprising about this today is that we can see nothing surprising in it.

That is how matters stand throughout our country. This, comrades, is a sign of the times, when internationalism has become the essence of our existence.

The Soviet state's nationalities policy takes into account the interests of the representatives of every nation and nationality inhabiting any particular republic.

I have here an excerpt from a letter from representatives of the Khurdish population living in the republic, addressed to the Georgian CP Central Committee, and I should like to tell you about this letter: "We shall never forget what support and assistance we now receive from the Central Committee and from the republic's party organization. Literally all doors of educational establishments are being opened to young Kurds, and special quotas [limits] are allocated. Each year apartments in new blocks are allocated to Kurds. We are acquiring broad opportunities for showing our worth in creative labor. Centers of Kurdish national culture have been specially created, and this has made possible the active development of our native tongue and written language. [paragraph continues]

An occurrence unparalleled in the history of Georgia's Kurdish population, they go on to write, has come about: Over the last 4 years the Georgian CP Central Committee has twice discussed and adopted decisions on the further improvement of work among the Kurdish population. The fact that Georgian radio today broadcasts special programs in Kurdish and that editions of works by Kurdish writers and poets are included in editorial plans is precisely the result of this great concern. We realize full well," the letter says, "that the republic's party organization has many other cardinal problems, but this circumstance has not prevented it from paying maximum attention to our numerically small population and from creating all the conditions for our national development. We are well aware of this and we shall try to prove, through deeds, our appreciation and devotion."

Well then, comrades, this is a touching letter and, in my view, a sincere one, and I shall not conceal that it is pleasant to receive such letters. I want merely to tell the comrades who wrote the letter that, however many other cardinal problems, as they put it, there may be, questions like this are not a mere detail but a main avenue of our work in all our life.

The CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy has insured the equality of all languages and dialects.

The problem of language in a multinational republic, including a multinational republic like the Georgian SSR, is a topical issue of all our ideological and political work. This is a serious issue, and in tackling it we are guided by the CPSU program, the USSR Constitution, the Georgian SSR Constitution and the constitutions of our autonomous republics.

In the system of resolutions aimed at the further enrichment and development of spiritual life and of the ideological and political activity of the party organizations, special attention is paid to the problem of further improving the teaching of the vernacular [rodnoy yazyk]. The Georgian CP Central Committee adopted such a decision. It is, comrades, a full, good and mature resolution.

The Georgian CP Central Committee believes that the party organizations must also take greater pains over the improvement of the teaching of the vernacular in the schools of Abkhazia, the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast, and in schools for Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

In 1974 a decision was adopted by the Georgian CP Central Committee on the further improvement of the teaching of Russian language and literature. This is not simply a resolution but a whole, scientifically elaborated system for expanding and deepening the teaching of the Russian language and literature in the Georgian SSR. It is a program of action designed for many years to come, for the long term.

The republic's population greeted this resolution with great enthusiasm because the Russian language--the language of international intercourse, the language of Lenin, the language of October--is of special significance for giving each nation and nationality access to the great achievements of world culture and world civilization.

We are all well aware that without the study of Russian it is difficult today to assimilate all the knowledge which mankind has generated, and without this as V.I. Lenin said, it is impossible to become a communist.

A recent check on the execution of decisions on the further improvement of the teaching of Russian Georgia's showed that in this sphere we have managed to achieve impressive results, and this pleases us very much.

In a series of topical tasks, the CPSU Central Committee resolution won the further improvement of ideological and political education work" emphasizes the need to nurture in all Soviet people a sense of pride in the socialist fatherland and in the indestructible fraternal friendship of the USSR's peoples, respect for national dignity and national culture, and intolerance of the many manifestations of nationalism.

The plans for joint ideological measures by the Communist Party central committees of the three fraternal Transcaucasian republics--Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia--are being successfully implemented. The plans for basic organizational and propaganda measures in connection with the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia and of the formation of the Georgian CP, and also in connection with the bicentennial of the signing of the Georgiyevskiy Tractate--the first manifesto of friendship between the Russian and Georgian peoples--are permeated with the spirit of internationalism and friendship among our country's peoples.

Naturally, the internationalist spirit which fosters the unity of our nation and internationalist interests was graphically reflected in the republic's fundamental law--the Constitution of the Georgian SSR.

You and I have witnessed many events which have been a true expression of the party's policy in the sphere of the working people's internationalist education and a manifestation of internationalism in action.

Marxist-Leninists have always taken into account distinctive national features and traditions. But they can and must oppose everything that could weaken fraternal mutual relations with other peoples and thereby hamper social progress. We are in favor of national development on an internationalist basis. It is precisely from positions of internationalism that we reject not only national nihilism but also national isolation and conceit.

I believe that in internationalist education we sometimes orient the republic's population incorrectly, failing to focus its attention on the achievements of our new, contemporary culture which have become possible thanks solely to the Leninist nationalities policy and internationalist policy and the practical activity of our great party and the republic's party organization.

Considerable work on the internationalist education of the working people has been done, generalized, and scheduled for the long-term by the Georgian CP Central Committee. But it must be said here that these resolutions have not always been implemented with due precision, and we have not always been absolutely strict in holding executives responsible.

At the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum, the problem of inter-national [mezhnatsionalnyy] relations and of their further development and improvement occupied a special place. A profound--in our view--analysis of the problems of the working people's internationalist education was made at the plenum and special attention was paid to the practice of implementing the party's Leninist nationalities policy in all regions of the Georgian republic and also to question of the further development of inter-nation relations as a whole under Georgia's conditions.

As practice shows, the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum decisions are having a fruitful influence on the state of affairs in this very important sector of our policy. As the party teaches, national relations are a reality. The nationalities question has been solved once and for all in our country, but life and the practice of building communism bring forward new questions and new problems in inter-nation relations and in the internationalist education of the working people. This is perfectly dialectical and perfectly logical.

The main thing now, comrades, is not to restrict ourselves to large-scale measures applying only to the republic as a whole. These are indeed essential, but they are not enough. For the effective practical implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy and of the ideas of the internationalist education of the masses, a scientifically elaborated system of measures and a comprehensive approach to this problem are essential. National relations and the internationalist education of the working people are real and concrete problems and questions which require an equally concrete and realistic approach to them and to each individual, to each member of our society. Our ideological workers and the comrades who conduct political education work must reach every person, but special attention must be paid to those members of society who need special ideological influence and political education work, and the Leninist principle of the individual approach to every single person must be effectively applied.

As you can see, dear comrades, alongside the great positive improvements in the work of our party organizations there are still substantial shortcomings in the matter of ideological backup for the further development of socialist social relations and their development into communist relations.

Special attention must be focused on the unresolved problems set out above.

The task is to insure that the Central Committee, the obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations, jointly with the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific centers in the republic, study the contemporary condition of party leadership of the processes of the development of social relations at all levels and devise appropriate scientific and practical recommendations and a program of action. We must come to the 26th Georgian CP Congress with such recommendations.

III

Comrades!

The third basic sphere of our ideological work is the education of the new man, the builder of communism.

We often say that the party's slogan "All for man and all for the good of man" has special significance in our era. It is not man who is created for the material and technical base of socialism; it is this base that is created for Soviet man.

We have our own, Marxist-Leninist concept of man. Man is the focus of our politics and our ideology; our economy and culture exist for man and on man's behalf. Anthropology today, as a synthesis of many allied sciences which study man and especially his social essence and social behavior, should enable leading comrades and above all workers on the ideological front to improve the style and methods of the formation of the new man, the builder and the future.

The republic has more than 5 million inhabitants, including almost 340,000 CPSU members and candidate members, around 750,000 Komsomol members and 2.3 million trade union members. So many different types! So many human destinies! We must work with every one, we must know each one. This is the task of the ideological worker.

An amateur, dilettante approach to the education of the new man, the builder of communism, devalues experience accumulated in this sphere and transforms certain rules of party building into dogma.

So if we want to work correctly with each communist, with every worker and kolkhoz member, every member of the intelligentsia and every member of society, then we must have a better knowledge of human life and activity.

All our party political and ideological work in the formation of the world outlook, culture and spiritual world of our contemporary must take into account the cognitive aspect, value orientation and structure of the personality, the degree of its sociologization, communicability and so forth.

Political training and theoretical, Marxist-Leninist tempering of our people remain the quintessence of ideological and of the world.

Engels stressed that party members, especially leading cadres must "educate themselves more and more in all matters of theory...and always bear in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands to be treated as a science, that is, to be studied" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol. 18, p 499).

It ought to be said that, as a result of considerable efforts by party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the recent period has been a sharp rise in interest in the study of the bases of Marxism-Leninism, the party's historical experience and modern political and economic problems.

In solving the task of instilling in people an active life stance on the basis of acquired knowledge, the republic's best propagandists are employing in the educational process forms and methods which enable them to combine study of theory with social practice, with labor and social activity. The movement "propagandist for a 5-year plan of efficiency and quality" has contributed greatly to this. In the 1978-1979 academic year students in the system of political and economic education elaborated, validated and implemented about 70,000 counter-plans, over 100,000 socialist pledges and more than 45,000 personal economy, thrift and labor productivity improvement accounts.

The Republic's party, soviet and economic aktiv has become involved in political and economic training on a wide scale. Party economic aktiv schools should operate at all obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms where leading experience of socialist management is widely studied in addition to theory. A lecture-seminar on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and communist building operates at the republic CP Central Committee. I think I am expressing the common view of the lecture-seminar participants when I say that participation by executive workers of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and Komsomol Central Committee as well as some of our country's well-known scientists has promoted interest in the classes and has contributed considerably to deepening their content. Accumulated experience must be developed and seminar classes channeled in the direction of analyzing our activity in the fulfillment of the 25th congress decisions and preparation for the 26th congress.

We must also develop training in party-economic aktiv schools at party committees and in higher theoretical seminars at ministries and departments. Training here must be devoted to the solution of the primary tasks in the specific oblast, city, rayon or sector in general.

Recently the Georgian CP Central Committee examined the question of the state of working people's political and economic education in Khashurskiy Rayon. The attention of the raykom, its secretaries and primary party organizations in the rayon was drawn, in stern fashion, to the poor work on organizing political and economic training of cadres and the belittling of its role in the solution of economic and educational tasks. The raykom secretary in charge of questions relating to ideological work, Comrade E. Gelashvili, ought to take command of the situation, and First Secretary Comrade D. Bedukadze must not forget that ideological and political education work is one of his main functions.

The shortcomings unearthed in Khashurskiy Rayon are in some degree or other typical of other party committees in the republic.

Can you seriously hope for an improvement in the effectiveness of economic training, for instance, in a number of republican ministries and departments which, despite the fair criticism leveled against them at the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum, are still lax in their attitude toward improving the organization of cadres' economic education. Following the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum the Georgian Ministry of Trade was again criticized, this time in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, for the unsatisfactory state of the economic training of workers in the system. Conclusions must be drawn from the criticism.

Practice shows that some enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders, especially those in middle management--shop and section chiefs, department managers, foremen, team leaders and link leaders--are neglecting economic analysis of daily economic activity and therefore are not always capable of assessing end results from positions of economic efficiency. The only explanation for this is that our party committees are not endeavoring to insure that every primary organization and every enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhoz administration regularly and competently studies matters relating to the organization of cadres' economic education.

It is necessary to fulfill unswervingly the demands of the CPSU Central Committee--to insure in the system of party training, economic education, komsomol political enlightenment and mass forms of propaganda the profound study and the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin, the history of the CPSU, the documents of party congresses and the works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

Measures are currently being outlined on the development of a new way of recruiting leaders of all ranks for work in the system of Marxist-Leninist economic education. We have decided that from the next academic year secretaries and members of the Georgian CP Central Committee and leading workers of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and Republican ministries and departments will exercise patronage over certain schools and seminars and periodically address students as propagandists.

The undertaking has been approved by PRAVDA.

I want to share some personal impressions. Recently I participated in classes in a political school at the V.I. Lenin electric locomotive construction plant. I admit that this meeting gave me great satisfaction. We had a very interesting and frank conversation. I learned a lot of useful things. After all, face-to-face contact with people cannot be matched by any other sources of information. So I can unreservedly recommend that the leading comrades of the republic, rayons and cities visit labor collectives more often and meet with people. Both sides will benefit from this.

We expect a great deal from such an important area of work as oral political agitation and propaganda. Agitators and political information workers are usually leading production workers and innovators, national economic specialists and leading party, Soviet and economic workers. This detachment of ideological fighters enjoys great popularity in many labor collectives.

Positive experience in this sphere has been accumulated at the Batumi, Sukhumi, Tskhinvali and Kutaisi gorkoms, Makharadzevskiy, Sachkheriskiy, Gegechkorskiy and Mayakovskiy Georgian raykoms and raykoms in Tbilisi.

Nevertheless, as an analysis of the fulfillment of the Georgian CP Central Committee resolution on the development of oral political agitation shows, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are by no means making full use of the potential of oral political agitation.

They fail to take into account the need for a differentiated approach to the audience, its general educational and cultural standards, and how informed it is. Topical questions are rarely put forward for discussion, and there is a tendency to avoid unresolved problems. The result is that of the industrial enterprise workers questioned only 7.2 percent learn new information at conversations with agitation workers, and 68.2 percent of the agricultural workers pointed out that the agitation workers tell them about things they have known for a long time. The discussions, political information, lectures and reports are confined to relating commonplace truths. Discussion and political information of this kind are of no use. For example, in the Marneulskiy, Karelskiy, Bogdanovskiy, Onksiy, Kazbegskiy and a number of other party committees agitation and political information workers are not provided with the requisite reference materials and are not presented with topical tasks specific to the given collective or rayon. They are given no methodological assistance either. Political enlightenment centers and bureaus give agitation and political information workers insufficient help, little use is made of the potential of cultural enlightenment institutions in improving the effectiveness of oral political agitation, technical propaganda facilities and visual aids are hardly used at all.

It is necessary to introduce scientific work methods into the practice of oral political agitation and arm our agitation and political information workers and lecturers with methods of scientifically analyzing social phenomena and modern ways of influencing people ideologically. Since the CPSU Central Committee and Georgian CP Central Committee resolutions on improving lecture propaganda, work in this sphere has become much more vigorous. There are social and political readings for the rural population, traveling lecturers visiting homes, thematic evenings, lecture cycles debates and dialogs and so forth. However, there are still many shortcomings here in the organization of lecture propaganda.

Apart from its many positive aspects, the work of the republican "Ananiye" Society meets with criticisms. There are still lecturers in society who, if one is to believe their warranty, give five or six lectures a day, and it is sometimes found that they are speaking in two different auditoriums at the same time.

Unfortunately, there are also some good-for-nothing lecturers, from party committees what's more, who, having found themselves a platform, forget about their lofty vocation as purveyors of ideas and party policy to the masses and play up to the audience, seeking what you might call cheap popularity. Needless to say, "lecturers" of this kind are of no use to our common cause.

We have often talked about how wrong it is to assess the effectiveness of lecture propaganda in terms of the number of lectures given. Unfortunately, it is still quantity that is considered almost the basic criterion of lecture propaganda effectiveness. Through the "Ananiye" Society alone over 32,000 lectures on social and political themes were given in the Abkhazaskaya ASSR in 1977-1978, more than 25,000 were given in Adzharskaya ASSR and around 70,000 were given in Tbilisi.

The quality of lectures is sometimes beneath criticism. Unfortunately, these shortcomings exist in party committee lecture groups and in other spheres of our ideological educational work.

As you can see, our propaganda and agitation section, its lecture group and the republican political enlightenment center must give party committees, Komsomol committees and the "Ananiye" Society significant assistance in eliminating shortcomings in lecture propaganda.

The new tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee resolution require that we review the principles of visual agitation formation.

The 25th Georgian CP Congress emphasized questions of improving the leadership of the republican press, television and radio and book publishing and tasks of improving work methods. A definite role in improving their work effectiveness has been played by a whole series of expressly elaborated decisions adopted in the past 18 months by the Georgian CP Central Committee and devoted to the tasks of the republican press, television and radio in insuring the effectiveness of publications: methods and forms of party leadership of mass information and propaganda media in the localities, and reporting back by republican ministry and department leaders through the press and television all of which are designed to improve publicity in the work of republican organs.

There has been a marked improvement in coverage of matters of party life and propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory in the papers KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA and many other press organs and on television and radio, although not all questions have been completely solved.

KOMUNISTI's articles addressed to suppressors of criticism are a fine example of the paper's militancy.

The traveling readers' conferences and public reception sessions under the auspices of KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA, the oral output of SOPLIS TSKHOVREBA, the Georgian television festivals at republican enterprises and educational establishments and a number of other examples of patronage by the papers KOMUNISTI, ZARYA VOSTOKA, SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY, SOVETAKAN VRASTAN SOPLIS TSHOVREBA and others of construction projects and economic enterprises merit a good assessment.

GRUZINFORM has also started putting out critical reviews. Incidentally, it has markedly enlivened its work, which is now notable for the quest for effective forms and the destruction of stagnant and long-obsolete cliches.

It cannot be said that most of our papers--republican party, youth, oblast, rayon, city and sector--are not trying to diversify the forms in which they present materials, are not seeking their own identity. The articles in ZARYA VOSTOKA are notable for their businesslike and consistent tone. A glance through the paper's editions gives the impression that they are purposefully formed and that there is a plan behind them. Hence the reliability of and confident approach in elaborating problems. KOMUNISTI is conducting a quest for mordant and indispensable publicistic forms. The youth press, especially AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI, is trying to find new ways of presenting materials.

Alongside the many positive phenomena in the work of the editorial boards of the papers TBILISI and VECHERNIY TBILISI there are shortcomings.

Our press, television and radio have played an invaluable role in the struggle of the communists and all working people of the republic against negative phenomena. There are militant and sharply critical articles in almost every edition of a newspaper or television program.

This is good, although it is bad that we still frequently confine ourselves to stating facts.

It is necessary today to combine reprimands with the principles of consolidating and propagandizing positive examples in the spheres of labor and social life. In this respect the republic's radio and television and many papers and journals are setting a good example. Journalism must probe the social essence of phenomena and analyze and criticize from moral, social and political positions.

We must not overlook the question of the practice of leading articles and editorials in all papers and journals. According to available data from public opinion polls they are looked at by only 20 percent of readers. And I said looked at, not read. [paragraph continues]

Why? As a rule, all or nearly all editorials (including those in our leading papers) suffer from the same thing--dryness and a kind of clerkish style, with general appeals.

The publicist work of V.I. Lenin is a great example. Party journalism must consist in "letters to society," as Lunacharskiy put it. And these letters should be interesting, fiery, impassioned and confidential.

Raykoms and gorkoms are still not leading their papers with sufficient precision and confidence. What can you say, for example, about the outstanding fact that in the past 18 months to 2 years the Dmanisskiy Raykom has only once passed judgment on its paper, and that after the party Central Committee had inquired about the rayon paper's work?! A fairly large number of similar examples of neglect of the needs and destinies of papers could be cited. This applies also to Georgian obkoms.

Our oblast and republican papers do not spoil the rayon press with attention. They rarely publish a businesslike review of papers. There are no direct contacts to speak of.

Our journals are a large and specific elements in the periodical sphere. They are faced with great demands in the light of the CPSU Central Committee resolution.

SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI and PARTIULI SITKVA (party word) must be above all purveyors of party policy to the masses. We must find in their pages answers to many questions in the sphere of party work practice and the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Our propagandists, agitation and political information workers, lecturers, speakers and aktiv must be able to learn from them how to carry out political education work. The journal SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI is doing a lot in this sphere. However, it should be said that you will not find in its pages a quest for new forms, thorough scientific analysis of topical problems, theoretical generalization and serious research in the field of the practical application of Marxist-Leninist science.

The collective of the journal PARTIULI SITKVA should think about form and about acquiring a clear journalistic identity. It has a range of essential themes and a circle of authors. Yet, unfortunately the journal lacks the main thing--the ability to attract and interest the reader. Unfortunately, the journal is incapable of getting away from the traditions of formal report style.

The journals SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI and PARTIULI SITKVA get insufficient help from Georgian CP Central Committee sections.

Some of our sector journals totally lack identity, they are old-fashioned and lacking in invention, and their layout is of a poor standard. The materials in them are often reminiscent of report notes, accountability reports--anything but journalistic works.

Unfortunately, some of our papers and journals are boring and drab, with bureaucratic language and a formal style; the writing is as heavy as reinforced concrete, the thinking behind it is shallow and the writer's position is sometimes unclear or superficial; they suffer from genre uniformity and lack of publicistic expertise, and their articles are not effective enough.

A common trait of some of our journals is pronounced provincialism. This applies to both form and content. This is typical of the journal NIANGI. Satire is a militant weapon of the party word. But for some reason there are people who believe that this weapon can be used at the level of lightweight anecdotes, dubious witticisms and "exposures" that disorient the reader. The journal has not yet become a prop for the republic's party organizations and the public in the struggle against negative phenomena.

The work of our children's journals should be studied.

I must say that they often deviate from their main, I repeat, main task, which is the political education of the younger generation.

We must improve the work of the editorial boards of the literary and artistic and social and political journals, and almanacs MNATOB, TSISKARI, GANTIADI, KRITKA, SAUNDZHE, LITERATURNAYA GRUZIYA, DROSHA, SAKARTVELO KALI and others. We must analyze in depth the work practice of papers and journals published in our autonomous formations and our cities.

We must take delight in the fact that such a large number of literary and artistic, social and political journals and almanacs are published in our republic and that the interesting paper LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO is published.

They do a lot to educate our contemporaries--the builders of the future. But they should do more. They have the strength and the opportunities. They must take a more critical view of their own work, form a better and more harmonious relationship with the economic, political and cultural life of the republic and adopt a better class and party approach to their job. That is their task!

Comrades, there have been undoubted successes in the work of mass information organs, but they belong to yesterday. Today the party demands that they all effect a cardinal restructuring of this work.

The need to enhance the responsibility of organizers of newspaper, journal and publishing work is heavily stressed in a whole series of our party Central Committee's decisions. The executive editor of a journal or newspaper is a major ideological and political figure. And a special responsibility goes with this.

The training of journalist cadres must be improved.

Since 1954 the Tbilisi State University has had a journalism department which in the new academic year will become an independent faculty. The actual system of training and also the distribution of journalist cadres need to be improved.

The role of book publishing in political education work is exceedingly important. The republic's publishing houses put out more than 1,000 titles annually, totalling around 14 million copies. The figures are something to be proud of. How this potential is being used is another matter. Unfortunately, the best use is not being made of it.

We are not satisfying the demand for children's literature, textbooks and artistic literature. Unscientific planning and poor study of demand and requirements are a considerable handicap to book publishing policy.

We get little help from publishing houses in the improvement of ideological and political education work; they do not orient the masses and party organizations on the most important spheres and prospects in this work.

In the last 5 years, which has been a strenuous period for the republic, our publishing houses have been unable to organize our scholars, historians and social scientists (apart from the Georgian CP Central Committee Institute of Party History and Georgian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy) to create more than two or three books analyzing the experience of the republic's party organizations and positive processes taking place in the political and social life of society; and they have failed to arm the aktiv with scientific research material in the sphere of the further practical organization of political education work in the masses. [paragraph continues]

The VUZ and scientific research institute social science faculties adopt a passive, kind of aloof attitude toward this, and the publishing houses fail to act as organizers of this very necessary process.

The publishing houses' thematic plans must be optimized, taking into precise account the specialty of each publishing house and the educational and general cultural and technical level of our population. Last year the republic's publishing houses put out many books and pamphlets not stipulated in the plan. This is out of order, of course, comrades.

We must put an end to the practice whereby books appear here sometimes with gross errors and unacceptable opinions which sometimes deserve most harsh condemnation. Book printing in the republic both in terms of content and layout should match union and world standards. Our publishers and all the comrades working in this sphere must remember that publishing is first and foremost a state organ, a state institution and an organ for our party's political education work and must accordingly insure the proper order in all departments of publishing work.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution sets big tasks in literally all spheres of our ideological activity, including perhaps above all, work with scientific cadres. The CPSU Central Committee resolution points directly to the need to further elaborate topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and questions of ideological work. On the basis of what has been said it is essential that scientific research and generalizations of party organization and ideological work be actively conducted in social science institutes and in relevant faculties. However, analysis has shown that these problems are only partially reflected in plans. The scientific research work plans of the Georgian Academy of Sciences institutes, humanitarian scientific research institutes and also the republic's VUZ social sciences faculties do not envisage the elaboration of topical problems of communist education, agitation and propaganda, mass information and questions of improving the effectiveness of ideological work in general. Unfortunately, coordination has not yet been organized in scientific research work between VUZ social science faculties and institutes.

The plans of institutes studying economics do not devote attention to questions of the effective of economic education or to problems of socialist competition, of raising the standard of economic activity in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and others. Our VUZ social science faculties fail to research problems relating to students and young people in education in general. That is, scientific subunits are not doing exactly what they are supposed to be doing. Of course, comrades, we cannot tolerate this situation.

It is scarcely worth demonstrating here, comrades, the importance of the role played by the teaching of scientific communism in the formation of the world outlook of our student body. A little over 4 years ago the Georgian CP Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the State of and Measures To Improve the Teaching of Social Sciences in the Republic's VUZes." However, it must be stated today that there has been no particular improvement in the teaching of this subject. Some teachers still confine themselves to reiterating truisms and prefer to avoid "difficult" problems, thus depriving young people of a correct orientation in life. However, the party teaches us, and it is recorded in the Central Committee's decision, that "diminished attention to coverage of topical problems, lack of flexibility and questions left unanswered can only benefit our class enemy."

We have a massive amount of work to do among students and schoolchildren. [paragraph continues]

Yet ideological education work in VUZes and schools is extremely badly organized. Measures of a general, appellatory or declarative nature are a bad element in plans for ideological education work even in the foremost educational establishments such as Tbilisi University, the Pushkin Teaching Institute, the Georgian Agricultural Institute, the Academy of Arts, the State Conservatoire and the Polytechnical Institute.

In some VUZes and schools certain teachers make statements of a chauvinist and nationalist flavor. Do I have to point out how harmful and dangerous such manifestations are! Sometimes these impulses are not rebuffed.

Formalism hampers us in the matter of instilling value orientations and social principles in young people. By leaving this work without guidance and by allowing cliches and stereotypes to persist we very often give birth to future commanders of production and construction, leaders of scientific research and specialists in the sphere of creating material and cultural values who totally lack spiritual tempering, civic qualities and social activeness and who essentially hope that life itself will work out problems and rectify matters. This is an erroneous and harmful stance.

It is good to see the republic's Komsomol waging an active, determined struggle against formalism in all areas, including this sphere. I welcome the Komsomol's enterprise. In principle it is a very necessary and good line.

By giving a student poor specialized knowledge we get a professional reject; but depriving him of the ability to make world-outlook and political evaluations we deprive society of a person with an active life stance.

We discussed this at length at the republican student aktiv--what a good aktiv it was--and we hope this discussion will benefit both pupils and teachers. But the main thing is to draw the right conclusions and then find efficient optimum ways of implementing them.

The effectiveness of educational work with students and schoolchildren depends in many respects on how well prepared the teaching staff is to solve this question.

On the initiative of the Georgian CP Central Committee new systems have been introduced for controlling ideological education work among students and training teaching cadres. Methodological and theoretical seminars and seminars on specific problems have become widespread; they are appearing successfully at a number of Tbilisi University faculties, at the Polytechnical Institute and in Tbilisi's Teaching VUZes.

We rate highly the tremendous contribution the republic's teachers are making to the education of our students and young people. Their scientific knowledge and teaching experience, their party-mindedness and dedication to communist ideals are a great asset to society and represent invaluable capital for us.

Despite all this, we regard ideological education work among the mentors of youth as far from perfect.

What is the reason for this?

A significant proportion of VUZ professors and teachers keep aloof from this process. This means that we are dealing with blatant neglect of party duty.

I am told that when we criticize certain representatives of the teaching body some comrades are offended. They must not be offended: they must draw the appropriate conclusions! We must all significantly improve our work: Central Committee secretaries, Central Committee Bureau members, Central Committee members, workers and peasants and members of the intelligentsia, including the teaching body.

The comrades from the republican ministry of higher and secondary specialized education have promised to organize this work properly and have been political certificates for the teaching body. Well, we'll see. Time will tell.

Comrades! The instilling of inner adherence to the high demands of communist morals in every Soviet person and the formation of a moral stance of civic self-awareness are a key task.

The comprehensive approach to the solution of the tasks facing us in this sphere aims at substantially enhancing the responsibility of the family, preschool institutions, schools, vocational and technical schools, VUZes and labor collectives for the moral makeup of children, adolescents, students and every person. Obviously we must make every effort to prepare the family pedagogically and psychologically for oral education work, and not just the family but the teachers and leaders of labor collectives too. We must introduce the teaching of the bases of civilized behavior and ethics in preschool institutions, schools and VUZes following the example of other fraternal republics.

Relying on the best achievements of world and Soviet teaching practice, we must take into account the fact that the education of the individual, the education of the person beings in the family, in preschool institutions, creches and kindergartens, and continues intensively in the secondary school, in the VUZ and in the labor collective. Education must begin in the family. It is necessary to enhance the role of the family and its educational functions. I must confess that some educational organizations and some families exhibit a not entirely healthy trend; to be frank, honest and blunt, what they want is to give their children a higher educational qualification. They want to give them access to science, but sometimes without political education and political tempering. They care little for this aspect.

The task is to transform our families and the entire system of preschool, school and VUZ education into centers of political and truly communist education.

As we know, the lessons of life are the most memorable lessons. No doubt everyone remembers the trial of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. At the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum we made serious complaints about those comrades whose moral and civic duty it was to prevent the man's degradation but after the event chose the policy of noninterference. I am not thinking of the Union or Writers: The comrades there adopted a very principled approach to this case. Of course, those who behaved in an ostrich-like fashion will not have realized that the actions of Z. Gamsakhurdia had nothing in common with true patriotism. And here is the reply to those comrades who adopted that position. The reply of life itself: Recently the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium and other relevant organs received a mercy plea from Zviad Gamsakhurdia which in form and tone was more like the confession of a man who had erred, a man deeply aware of this guilt before the motherland and his own people, a man tortured by pangs of conscience. "Our authorities," Z. Gamsakhurdia writes, "have helped me in every way to overcome by mistakes and, through their humanity and understanding, have helped me to find the right path, and now nothing will make me stray from this path."

"In the past," Z. Gamsakhurdia goes on, "I turned a blind eye to all the positive things taking place in our country." [paragraph continues]

"Now the scales have been removed from my eyes and I can see how great is our authorities' concern for Georgian people's culture, for the flourishing and development of the language and for the well-being of our people. I want to show to our government that I am capable of making an appropriate assessment of everything good and positive. To this end I have studied the work of the Kizlyar winter pastures association and I intend to write an essay on it in the future which will show the life of the Kizlyar working people and of our shepherds."

In conclusion Z. Gamsakhurdia requests the opportunity to atone for past errors through his actions. This is the way a working atmosphere, a healthy environment and the very truth of life has changed a man's world outlook. Z. Gamsakhurdia had drawn his conclusions. He was pardoned by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We believe that Gamsakhurdia's repentance was sincere and that the relevant organizations should create the necessary conditions whereby the man believes that he has the confidence of the party and government and that they believe that he is making amends. Z. Gamsakhurdia must be helped to find a worthy place in life.

Leninist principles of ideological work require that we struggle not in general terms but in specific terms for the fate of every person, yes, every person. Ideological victory is important to us in the battles for the hearts and minds of every person, every member of our society, and doubly valuable is the victory of our political education principles implemented in respect of those people who have deviated or are straying. Man is an invaluable asset and he must be treated exactly as such, with care, with solicitude, with humanity and, when necessary, quickly.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution demands that we struggle purposefully and constantly for man with all the means and strength at our disposal, beginning with ideological methods and ending with the harshest measures specified by the law in relation to people exhibiting negative phenomena and resolutely seek to eradicate monstrous survivals of the past which still exist in our life and which are incompatible with socialism.

Comrades!

I want to dwell in particular on problems relating to propaganda of the CPSU's foreign policy course, systematic coverage of life in the socialist countries, and the fraternal communist and workers parties' struggle against imperialism, and all other aspects of modern international life.

Hostile propaganda is waging offensive operations currently focusing its main efforts in two directions: Attempts to spread and impose on Soviet people the bourgeois concept of human "rights" and "freedoms"; and to sow discord among the socialist community countries and among the Soviet peoples.

Wherever the enemy focuses his efforts we must respond with a powerful counterblow to his every onslaught. Our propagandists, the press, television and radio as a whole have a correct idea of the task that faces them. Recently materials have appeared exposing the much vaunted "democracy" and the dishonest campaign "in defense of human rights."

All our ideological work, in particular counterpropaganda, must become more mobile and forthright, more flexible and scientific.

We still fail to take into due consideration the fact that anti-Soviet propaganda centers broadcast in Georgian (VOA, Radio Liberty) and transmit for 5-6 hours a day to our republic alone (and that is not counting almost continuous broadcasts in Russian).

Both in oral and printed propaganda we tend to avoid awkward questions and unresolved problems.

The party believes that there are no questions which cannot or ought not to be answered. There are questions which we are still not able to answer because we are still working in the old way and do not like to trouble ourselves; we seize ready-made quotations (it's better if I say that, it's less trouble) and think little about deepening our knowledge.

I say all this to stress the urgent need for a reorganization of our ideological and informational work in accordance with the new conditions.

Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work" sets the determining task of "constantly insuring the instilling of high moral fiber, civic-mindedness and development of creative activeness in our writers, artists, composers, theater and movie people and journalists."

In recent years the Georgian CP Central Committee, clearly aware of culture's tremendous role in the nationwide cause of building a communist society and in the noble struggle for people's hearts and minds, has paid very close attention to work with the creative intelligentsia.

The days of Soviet literature in Georgia whose motto was "The Internationalism of Multi-national Soviet Literature in the Era of Developed Socialism" were very successful. The traveling session of the USSR cinematographers' union secretariat made a big impact. The Moscow days of Georgian music, our writers' creative evenings and others measures were significant events. Recently our scientific public bade farewell to some dear guests--the participants in the USSR Academy of Sciences traveling session headed by Comrade Aleksandrov, president of the Academy of Sciences. The session's program substantially outgrew the agenda.

We are rightly proud of the successes of our writers and especially movie-makers, artists, composers and theater workers.

Georgian Soviet literature and art and the literature and art of all the peoples in the republic have justified their lofty mission from the very start and have found their way into people's hearts.

However, the process of the forward development of literature and art is not going as smoothly as one would like. There are many literary works which are frankly weak and in some cases ideologically dubious. The party influence on theaters' repertoire policy is weak. And I mean influence. This work lacks an adequate planning and organizational basis, and not enough thought goes into it. Of course, no one can insure against failure and it is also true that major works of talent, the people's pride, cannot appear every-day, let alone works of genius. But despite all this it is necessary to make a correct appraisal of the processes taking place in our cultural life to insure that drabness does not blot out the valuable creations of our literature and art.

Some joint research carried out by the Georgian CP Central Committee Council for Public Opinion and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research aimed at solving two basic tasks: First, to study certain aspects of the social and political activeness of the creative intelligentsia to get a clearer picture of its understanding of its place and role in the life of society and the collective.

Second, to study certain important aspects of the political and aesthetic awareness of cultural figures and their views on topical problems of the ideological struggle in the modern world and questions of theory and practice of the art of socialist realism.

The data obtained as a result of processing the primary information indicates that the overwhelming majority of those questioned have formed a correct attitude to the need to organize political training among the creative intelligentsia. Some of those questioned believe that political training is necessary and the ways in which it is carried out can be characterized positively; others believe that political training is necessary but the forms should be improved. It is a disturbing fact that some people are saying that there is no need to conduct political training among creative workers.

It is striking that not all those questioned are interested in problems of the ideological struggle in the cultural sphere. Comrades, we must systematically improve the system, style and methods of leadership of artistic culture, improve the organs of state and party leadership of artistic culture, and improve the skills of comrades whose job is to guide the spiritual life of society.

In the era of mature, developed socialism the improvement of the population's general cultural standard and the total liquidation of illiteracy are a fact and, therefore, whereas before not everybody could read and not everybody had access to artistic literature and the printed word, now everybody can read. Art is accessible to all. Hence the special role and special responsibility of literary and artistic figures to then people, to the party and to the times.

Literary and artistic figures must always remember that there is no such thing as classless or supraclass art and literature. In every era culture has had a distinct class character. So it has been, so it is and so it will continue to be in a class society. We talked earlier about the chief, basic aspects of the party's economic strategy; then about the chief spheres of our party organization's activity.

The first main direction of the CPSU's strategy is the creation of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual prerequisites for the development of literature and art and for society's spiritual culture in general.

The second main direction is the molding and education of artistic intelligentsia cadres and representatives of socialist literature and art; the molding of an artistic intelligentsia with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The third is the definition of the main line of development of culture in Soviet society on the basis of the Leninist concept of party-mindedness and popular spirit, class, class nature and the positions of socialist realism.

I should mention here the need to further develop the theory of socialist art and the aesthetic principles of socialist realism.

The fourth is mass popularization, the involvement of the masses and all social class groups in active artistic creativity in the matter of developing socialist culture. And the fifth is the creation of optimum conditions for every Soviet citizen and every member of society to have access to things of artistic value.

This is the general outline of the party's cultural strategy, and it must be reflected in our daily work and in our current and long-term plans for ideological work.

I would like to draw the attention of our Academy of Sciences, Institute of Party History, social sciences faculties and all social scientists in the republic to the need to elaborate theoretical problems which are topical from the viewpoint of the further development of socialist culture and the leadership of processes of the further development of artistic culture under mature socialism.

The republic's social scientists, including philosophers, work in the sphere of the theory of socialist culture. This is very interesting work. Ideological centers and party organizations must support this work and make it more intensive.

The CPSU's cultural strategy is inseparable from our party's social strategy. The creation of the cultural prerequisites of communism and the further strengthening of the spiritual potential of mature, developed socialism are our party's fundamental and long-term strategy. This applies above all to people's education, science and artistic culture. It is no accident that 20 articles in the USSR, Georgian SSR and autonomous republics' constitutions are devoted to the chief aspects of the cultural life of the new historical community of people--the Soviet people--and the Soviet state's cultural strategy.

Comrades! Cultural enlightenment institutions are an important means of educating the new man. Their ideological and emotional influence embraces millions of people of all ages, social positions, levels of education and professions. This explains the CPSU Central Committee's great attention to the work of cultural enlightenment institutions.

Recently the Georgian CP Central Committee has adopted several fundamental resolutions on problems of raising the cultural and educational standards of the republic's population and developing the people's creativity, and the work of cultural enlightenment institutions was profoundly and comprehensively analyzed at a republican party-economic aktiv meeting which outlined specific measures to improve their activity. Unfortunately, however, we are bound to state that in general the work of cultural enlightenment institutions leaves much to be desired.

There are many museums in the republic, but many of them operate badly!

It is not surprising that the average number of visitors to the republic's museums is considerable below all-union indicators.

Yet there are examples to follow. Recently the Tbilisi branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum has become a real help to party organizations in the propaganda of Lenin's immortal ideas. The country's first museum of the peoples' friendship, under the auspices of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, is doing a lot of fruitful work on international and patriotic education. Everybody finds its exhibition stimulating.

It is necessary to improve library organization in the republic. Propaganda of social and political literature is poorly organized in libraries in Dzhavskiy, Leningorskiy, Dmanisskiy, Tsalkskiy, Chkhorotskuskii, Lagodekhskiy and other rayons. They do not operate mobile libraries, and so forth.

The organization of methodological assistance for cultural enlightenment institutions must be substantially improved.

We must devote special attention to work at places of residence. This is a very important area and the most neglected area of our mass cultural and ideological work in general. Recently new organizational forms have appeared in this sphere, and they must be supported.

The struggle between the new and the old is a dialectical law. The struggle against remnants of the past and negative phenomena alien to the nature of our society is one of the main topical problems of our party's ideological work and political education activity. The struggle against private ownership trends is one of the main directions of our struggle against the remnants of the past and negative phenomena.

During the Soviet period fundamental changes have taken place in man's consciousness: Private ownership psychology has been ousted by socialist consciousness. The structure of man's consciousness has changed in such a way that as a rule he places social interests above personal interests and regards his own happiness as being part and parcel of the general happiness. And this is no more nor less than a revolutionary shift in human consciousness. Accomplishing this victory and effecting this revolution, the revolution in man's consciousness, was no easier than effecting the October Revolution. But the private ownership bacillus is a living substance. The human consciousness revolution must be completed. In order to eradicate the bacillus we need the relevant arsenal of means, and we must be able to employ them. There are many defects in this area.

According to the public opinion council, which, incidentally, is working intensively in this sphere, private ownership trends are seen as unlawful, antisocial views, as are actions on the part of some citizens who deviate from socialist objective and normative laws of the distribution of labor and seek to get unearned income through the use of socialist social property and the personal socialist property of citizens for the purpose of personal gain and other selfish ends.

The assessment of private ownership trends as the most dangerous of all negative phenomena--an assessment which has recently become widespread in the republics was dictated by the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi Gorkom. As you know, another CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Georgian party organization, adopted 4 years ago, formulated once again the demand that the Georgian CP Central Committee "resolutely act against private ownership trends and other remnants of the past...."

On the instruction of the Georgian CP Central Committee the public opinion council did a comprehensive investigation to find out the republic's working people's opinions and stance on the essence of private ownership trends and the reasons for their tenacious and widespread nature.

In accordance with the sample, the opinions of 2,480 respondents were studied.

A documentary analysis of the materials assembled by the council in the course of the investigation indicates that in the last two decades in the republic the proportion of offenses committed for private ownership reasons in the total number of all types of crime has shown an increase.

In the opinion of those polled, the spread of private property tendencies in the republic was promoted by: lack of principles and self-interest on the part of a certain portion of executives on administrative organs; unsatisfactory work and self-interest on the part of certain representatives of auditing and control services; formalism and other substantial shortcomings in moral education work in the family, schools, vocational and technical institutions, VUZes and labor collectives; and violation of the socialist principle of distribution and unresolved questions in the sphere of economic and material production.

These assessments on the part of the working people are correct and have a serious basis.

Public opinion is clearly aware of the tremendous political, economic and moral damage caused to the republic by private property trends.

How is this damage expressed in concrete forms?

The main socioeconomic danger of the spread of these trends is that they hinder the implementation of the socialist principle of production and distribution according to labor and restrict the base for developing the working people's well-being.

The economic damage done by plunderers of the people's wealth is easily perceptible.

The political harm done by the spread of private property trends is manifested in the fact that those who have these tendencies create in some places, among some people, a wrong idea of our life and of socialism with their way of life and values.

As for the moral damage, this is generally immeasurable: people infected with private property desires corrupt those around them by the very fact of their prosperity, engendering cynicism in some, skepticism in others and amorality, an apolitical attitude and lack of confidence in yet others.

Party, Soviet and state organs and organs of the prosecutor's office, internal affairs, the courts and justice, together with ideological institutions must step up the struggle against violations of the law and the factors which give rise to them, improve preventive work and correctly combine educational and punitive practice, taking into account the fact that in the era of mature, developed socialism our state's educational function moves into the foreground. And this presupposes a further strengthening of the role of ideological and political education work.

When we speak of further stepping up the struggle against negative phenomena in our society, we have in mind that much has certainly been done, but even more remains to be done. That is why we stress that we are not satisfied with the work already done; major and complex work still lies ahead on this front.

As well as stepping up the struggle against negative phenomena, we must think about further improving the forms and methods of the struggle against religious vestiges in connection with the fact that the international centers of the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church and Islam, Zionist organizations and various sectarian groupings and formations have recently stepped up their work.

The Central Committee propaganda and agitation section and other Georgia CP Central Committee ideological sections must think, together with scientific centers, about the set of measures needed to strengthen the atheist education of the working people, particularly young people, and to strengthen the struggle against religious vestiges in our society.

Not so long ago the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau discussed the question of progress on the part of the Zestafonskiy Party Raykom in fulfilling the resolution on stepping up the struggle against harmful traditions, and in essence the state of ideological work in the rayon in general. It became clear that a practical struggle is not being waged against outmoded traditions, and the party raykom and its first secretary, Comrade B. Merkviladze, underestimate ideological and political education work. The Central Committee Bureau was forced to point out to Comrade B. Merkviladze, Comrade G. Dzabiridze, raykom secretary for ideology, and the Zestafonskiy Raykom Bureau their underassessment of ideological work. This resolution is addressed not only to Zestafonskiy Raykom. Comrades must draw serious conclusions from this recommendation and radically restructure ideological education activity, seeking to link it closely to life.

Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee resolution indicates to party committees, trade union, komsomol and sporting organizations and DOSAAF workers the need to adopt additional measures to develop the mass physical culture movement, increase sporting skill, improve educational work among practitioners of physical culture and sportsmen and strengthen the military and patriotic education of young people and the preparation of young men for military service.

We must devote special attention to preparing young people for service in the ranks of the Soviet Army. The army and navy are factors of tremendous educational importance. Apart from anything else, army life is a school for our young people, a school of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a school of discipline and industriousness, of organization, a school for cultivating a conscious attitude to society's interests.

The work of our schools, VUZes, komsomol and political education institutions and all our ideological activity must be constructed in such a way as to insure that the pre-army education of young people lays firm foundations for highly effective army education. This is our party and civic duty.

We are now on the threshold of the USSR peoples' Spartakiad and the Moscow Olympics. This is not only a sporting but also a political event.

There are forces in the world which are preparing intensively not only for sporting battles, but also political and ideological battles and acts of sabotage. Groupings hostile to the Soviet Union intend to use the Olympic games to carry out ideological sabotage and political sallies. In these conditions each of our sportsmen must be ready to give a resolute, convincing and well-substantiated rebuff to the ideological enemy.

Those who educate physical culture practitioners and sportsmen, today's trainers and organizers, must be real political commissars, helping us all in the difficult and noble task of forming the face of Soviet youth.

Comrades!

The 25th CPSU Congress armed party organizations with a reliable guide in resolving the complex and crucial tasks of forming the new person. This is the comprehensive approach to the whole matter of education, insuring the organic unity of ideological, political, labor and moral education taking into account the particular features of different groups of working people.

The comprehensive approach to economic and political tasks is, comrades, a requirement of life, since it is only by taking them together that it becomes possible positively to resolve literally all the vital problems which agitate and interest Soviet people and our society.

The lack of an efficient system for coordinating all forms and means of ideological influence on people's awareness is one of the most substantial shortcomings in all our ideological and political education work. Evidently Central Committee ideology sections and, above all, the propaganda and agitation section must think seriously and work on further improving the system, which must insure the efficient coordination of ideological efforts by the Central Committee, party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations and all our ideological institutions.

The bitter experience of the past tells us of the need to create precisely a system which will help us to exclude the possibility in future of permitting serious deviations from the Leninist principles of ideological life.

What is the guarantee that the errors of the past will not be repeated in future ideological work?

Before the adoption of the decision on the Tbilisi Gorkom there were errors (they are still permitted sometimes, unfortunately). But people were unwilling to acknowledge errors if they are permitted. In this situation, as Lenin noted, major miscalculations cannot be tolerated, but if some errors are permitted, they will be speedily corrected. Herein lies the guarantee of loyalty to the Leninist style of work and Leninist principles of party life--the guarantee of the profound democracy of our ideological work.

The time has obviously come for Central Committee ideological sections, particularly the propaganda and agitation section, to act as a real center of scientific organization and coordination of ideological work, an information and methodological center for our party organizations' ideological activity. I think we demonstrated this very skillfully and convincingly at the 11th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum.

In our view, the main directions of work for such a center must be: the study and crystallization of experience in the organization and management of ideological work; and the elaboration of recommendations for improving forms and methods of education and party leadership of all ideological institutes.

Party organizations must do a great deal with a view to insuring the comprehensive resolution of tasks in ideological education work. It is above all necessary to think out and elaborate long-term and annual work plans coordinating the efforts of party, soviet, public and economic organs to insure the unity of ideological, political, labor and moral education of all population groups; these plans must naturally be based on solid scientific foundations and must take public opinion into account.

Leading cadres must be required to show a high standard of ideological education work in the collectives they lead, and their personal responsibility for the educational consequences of economic activity must be increased.

Party committees and primary party organizations are called upon to turn labor collectives into genuine centers of day-to-day ideological education activity and individual work with each working person, stimulating social and labor activeness and an improvement in the standards of work and everyday life.

Organizational reserves must also be sought on the path to improving ideological and political education work. We always stress that every party component is primarily a political component, in whatever sphere its activity takes place. To explain this idea, I do not have to look far for examples. In our republic, in the party apparatuses, starting with the Central Committee, so-called sector departments operate. But this title does not mean that their range of interests is confined only to specifically sectorial problems. We often restrict ourselves to the sector's economic and administrative concerns, whereas we should make the sector's policy. It is obviously necessary to recall the principle that party subunits are, above all, political control organs.

Comrades! What is the main conclusion that can be drawn from all that has been said? Running through the CPSU Central Committee resolution "on improving ideological and political education work" is the idea that every communist must propagandize the ideas of Marxism-Leninism--with his labor, his behavior and moral character, his example, his deeds and his words. We are all responsible to the party and people for everything that happens in the labor collective, the educational institution, the cultural institution or the family, or in the streets. Every communist must be aware of his role as not only a person fulfilling his duty in his post, even in the most exemplary way, but as a person politically responsible to society, to the motherland for all levels of political, administrative, economic, production, organizational and educational work.

The comprehensive approach to ideological work primarily demands coordinated work by all components and a clear awareness of their interconnections.

The party has armed us with a profoundly scientific program for the comprehensive approach to education.

But in order to implement a scientific program, scientific methods are also necessary. This means the study of public opinion, which must be transferred to a qualitatively new form today--from being the recording and determining of a group of facts to being prediction, the elaboration of recommendations and their application in work. This means methods of psychological restructuring of the thinking of the economic and party leadership, which will be held responsible not only for kilograms and meters, but also for the thoughts, requirements and aspirations of the collectives entrusted to it. This means measuring the responsibility of the teacher, instructor, propagandist, agitator, lecturer and journalist, which is assessed today not only by the sum of his students' knowledge, but also by their world view and moral position.

All the dimensions named here are interconnected. Man creates, but creation educates man. Man educates man, and this is creation doubled.

The best representatives of party organizations, the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia of the republic and of our young people are present in this auditorium today.

The attention of the entire republic is focused on this auditorium today. The main theme of our forum, the main concern of each one of us is man, our contemporary and his destiny. This man, our contemporary, is the creator not only of today but also of tomorrow for the motherland. That is why we are concerned about him, about the man of the future, and we cultivate in our contemporary the qualities of the citizen of the future, the citizen of a communist society.

A spirit of revolutionary optimism reigns in this auditorium today, as in our republic and throughout our great country. We are confident that we will conquer new heights in the cause of educating the new person. A person who has high ideological principles is harmoniously developed, physically beautiful and spiritually and morally splendid, a creator-person, imbued to the marrow with the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Our confidence is based on Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The basis of our confidence is the great revolutionary enthusiasm with which each of us, every Soviet ideological worker, serves the cause, the interest of the soviet person, builder of the future.

I wish to devote the concluding section of the Central Committee report at this party aktiv meeting to our people's great revolutionary enthusiasm, to the great deeds which have been accomplished in the past on the basis of revolutionary enthusiasm, which are being accomplished today and which will be accomplished tomorrow. Revolutionary enthusiasm will never die in our contemporaries--communists and builders of communism--since the fundamental basis of this enthusiasm is our great and rich revolutionary heritage. This enthusiasm is founded on the historically unforgettable October days of 1917, on the subsequent revolutionary transformations in the economy, on the immortal feats in the great patriotic war, on the nationwide feat whose name is the virgin lands, on the achievements of the new 5-year plans, on a profound sense of internationalism, a feeling of friendship and fraternity among peoples, mutual trust and mutual respect, on the sense of being a united family, on the inexhaustible national energy of the Soviet peoples, rallied in a unified alliance, the Soviet peoples' energy transformed into a single mighty stream setting the turbines of communism in motion.

It was decided that backwardness must be overcome, and that Soviet Georgia should take its worthy place in the great family of Soviet peoples! The Georgian working class responded to the Central Committee's call and declared it its own vital cause to overcome the republic's backwardness.

Such is the working class, which always carries aloft the banner of all peoples and nations, the banner of the entire country and all the Soviet people.

The first successes are evident, and they gladden us all. Here is our worker's revolutionary enthusiasm in action!

It was said that we must increase Soviet Georgia's contribution to all-union assets, to the cause of improving the Soviet people's material and cultural well-being! And the Georgian kolkhoz peasantry, the rural working class and all the rural population responded warmly to this party appeal. They insured a high, I would say, unprecedented level of production of social product in agriculture. Here is our revolutionary enthusiasm in action!

It was said that the moral and psychological climate in the republic must be improved, Soviet Georgia's honor must be defended. Valorous labor must restore a prestige somewhat shaken by negative phenomena, and our people's spiritual property must be increased! The socialist city and the socialist countryside of the seventies responded to this party call.

The working class, the peasantry, our glorious intelligentsia, and our young people: here are substantial achievements and significant shifts. [as published]

Here is our revolutionary enthusiasm in the era of real socialism.

Our enemies say that Soviet enthusiasm has cooled and died. That is a routine lie.

Look at this auditorium--the vast majority of the comrades present here, together with their official duties, occupy themselves voluntarily with the complex but necessary mission of the propagandist, lecturer and agitator in the era of mature, developed socialism. There are tens and hundreds of thousands of such enthusiasts in Soviet Georgia. Is not this the enthusiasm of our day in action?!

What makes literary and artistic figures in our republic carry out mass campaigns in cities and villages, fight for a high communist culture and everyday life for our working people, and act as patrons over labor collectives and army and navy subunits? What makes them seek and find masterpieces of the people's creativity, and then arrange unforgettable soirees in the capital? What makes hundreds of thousands of students and pupils in Soviet Georgia give up their summer vacation, declare the vacation a "labor term" and do their bit for building communism: Each of them seeks to place his brick on the scaffolding of communism.

What makes thousands upon thousands of young people leave their cosy nook, the family comfort, for a time and to go work on the construction of the century's giant projects--the Baykal-Amur railroad and other important sites in the Far East! and create shock Komsomol teams there and carry aloft the banner and the name of their native republic?!

What makes the glorious contingent of Georgian scientists carry out a true scientific feat for the sake of turning science in our time into a real production force?!

What makes our glorious young people, representatives of our intelligentsia and scientists restore long forgotten historic villages and settlements in southern Georgia?! What makes them work for nothing to save and restore natural and cultural monuments?! By whose command did young theater people, the entire graduate class from the Tbilisi theater institute, go to Akhaltsikhe to create a fine new theater there?!

Last year people from the long-inhabited, rich villages on the plains in Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon moved up into the mountains, returned to their forefathers' village, the village of Cheremi, settled that region again, and breathed life back into the mountain village which their forefathers left 30-40 years ago. Who told them to take such a step?

It would take more than one report to enumerate such examples, and herein, comrades, lies our wealth, our might and our strength.

Our party, dear comrades, is a party of enthusiasts. Revolutionary enthusiasm lives and revolutionary enthusiasm will live and flourish eternally, and on the basis of our further movement forward, toward communism, on the basis of the new victories of real socialism, our revolutionary enthusiasm will embrace everyone, all spheres of life, the mind and heart of every one of our compatriots!

Our revolutionary enthusiasm will become a still more powerful factor in our life, bringing people great satisfaction and joy in communist labor, in study and in the battle for a better future.

Long live our own party--the party of revolutionaries, innovators and enthusiasts, the party of scientific communism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism--the all-conquering revolutionary teaching of our era!